/339 cont./

613 671 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/ procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 [796] Each year, at the feast of the Mlad, young men and young women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ʿAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that [776] could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa [778] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals." [582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/191 cont./

616 is handed down from father to son. The "Ait Teskawin" never
514 dance while mingling with the other warriors of the tribe, but
*634 they stay around their "reis," who animates them with songs in
628 which he celebrates the military records of his leff (1).
535
[533]

1. The opposite of the dance of the "Teskawin," the "ahwach" and the "assega," are pacific dances that above all have the aim of permitting men, women, and girls to gather together and exchange, through transparent allusions, epigrams in which love takes first place.

[184] The tradition of the "Teskawin" is still preserved among the
[178] populations of the high valleys, where independence has enabled people to respect up to these last years the institutions of former times. The Aghbar, the Seksawa, the Ida ou Mhamoud, the isolated "taqbilt" of the high mountains of the Gedmiwa keep it as a symbol and are attached to it with the feeling that it expresses their fidelity to the leff alliances.

616 The "Tinoubga" become the origin of many private associa-
574 tions, of alliances of families, and of marriages. Indeed, each
584 one looks for a wife, preferably in his own leff, although it is not
571 without precedent to see families of two opposing parties unite;
582 in that case, it can happen that a man might be led to taking up arms against his son-in-law or his grandchildren, for the leff outweighs private alliances.

616 Among the cantons of the same leff -- those of the high
*634 mountains and those of the Dir -- are also established economic
311 relations of great importance. In the former are found rich /192/
241 summer pastures, harvests of walnuts, wool in abundance, but
233 barley and maize are lacking, for land is scarce in the encased valleys. On the other hand, the cantons of the Dir have at their feet enormous areas that can be cultivated in "bour" as well as irrigated fields, but the flocks cannot exist in the plain in the

4: Hoffman E-4 (no date) 1967 MW11 Shluh MW11 (ca. 1900)

boys, both situated in a tent at the circle's center. Among the Beraber the minor lineage is a particularly cohesive unit, with a strong *esprit de corps* and sense of common origin and destiny. The minor lineage of the Zenata is closely similar to that of the Beraber (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Deverdun, 1942, pp. 312-313; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 151-152; Marcy, 1929, p. 138; Querleux, 1915, pp. 21-22; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

As among the Riffians and Shluh, Beraber marriage is usually endogamous within the minor lineage and always exogamous with respect to the extended family. The minor lineage exogamy that does occur is usually contracted for political purposes (Abes, 1917, pp. 187-188; Johns Hopkins University, 1956, p. 151; Spillman, 1936, pp. 44-45).

Berber kinship structures, as illustrated among the Shluh, Beraber, Riffians, and Zenata, are characterized by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence, and some degree of territorial localization of the descent group. The most widespread kin group is customarily endogamous; marriage with adopted strangers is allowed, however, and is associated with temporary matrilineal descent. In the kinship terminology (known in detail only from the Riffians) the pattern is that of Murdock's Sudanese type; the father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter being called by different terms and distinguished from sisters, parallel cousins, aunts, and nieces. Aunt and niece terms are both bifurcate collateral. Marriage is usually monogamous, but polygyny is allowed (Johns Hopkins University, 1956, pp. 136a-138; Murdock, 1949, pp. 41-64, 238-239).

The minor lineage is generally followed by, and is part of, a larger unit which we may designate as a "major lineage" or "commune". Usually not all of the lineages which constitute this larger unit are related, for the Berber kinship system is not typically a segmentary one in the sense, for example, that Nuer lineages are segmentary – a clan being composed of related maximal lineages; each of these of related major lineages; each of these of minor lineages; and each of these of minimal lineages. Above the Berber minor lineage, affiliation usually comes to be reckoned partly by kinship and partly be geographical proximity. However, some Beraber groups do give evidence of segmentation. The basic unit superior to the minor